

515 /418 cont./

515
64 (Barbier *Illicidia*, Fig. 17), *luma*, *cella*, which is obtained in the following way. They peel the bark off a twig as thick as one's thumb, scrape off the soft layer of fibers on the surface, and then, with a sharp-edged mussel shell and gentle pressure back and forth, they peel off /418/ the finest shavings. These are collected on a scrap of leather and must dry near the fire. By repeatedly squeezing the loose ball, a coarse powder is produced, which quickly absorbs any dampness. These shavings are kept in a piece of gut, and if anyone needs them he takes out a handful. He uses this substance exactly like a sponge. It is used mostly by a mother in washing and drying her infant, but almost all the people use it often to wipe under the arms -- custom demands this -- in order to prevent a bad odor, as they say.

515
S15 These fine shavings are almost never used for a wet massage of face and body. For this they more often use a ball of moss saturated with water. Apparently Hyades (p. 343) also makes this distinction: "When the natives use dirt on their bodies that demands attention, especially in the morning, ... they wipe themselves off with fine wood shavings that make a kind of tow, or they clean up by simply rubbing themselves with moss gathered around the hut, which is very wet and acts as a sponge" /translated from French/.

515
70 A person who has soiled his hands, whether it is with blood and dirt while working or with blubber and fat while caring or entertaining an animal, rubs them off in the sand on the ground, on skins lying about, or on the hut covering. The fat dripping from the fingers after a delicious meat is preferably rubbed on the face and body to keep the skin soft and to protect it against the weather, hence the greasy skins of these people which give them a strange appearance (p. 67). This is, of course, not provided naturally and is not sought for beautification, but rather it serves as protection for the body. On very cold days one or another of them will even pour a large quantity of liquid blubber over himself. The skin is never completely free of a visible layer of grease which is increased by continual contact with meat, fat, and greasy objects. The epidermis of these Indians is somewhat thicker than that of Europeans as a result of their complete lack of protection against the cold air. That is also the reason why the skin is less sensitive.

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104. *Hyades* (?) 104 supplement this with the following statement: "If, upon re-entering, they find that they are soiled, as soon as they perceive it, either by seeing or smelling it, they are careful to rub themselves with a pad of chaff and to throw all this outside. The children do the same as soon as they can manage it; as for younger children, the mother is careful to keep them clean" (104). In their scrupulous efforts toward

104. *Hyades* (?) 104 supplement this with the following statement: "If, upon re-entering, they find that they are soiled, as soon as they perceive it, either by seeing or smelling it, they are careful to rub themselves with a pad of chaff and to throw all this outside. The children do the same as soon as they can manage it; as for younger children, the mother is careful to keep them clean" (translated from French).

this kind of cleanliness our Indians compare with the neighboring *Sak'ham* (Vol. 1, 124).

105. Like the *Sak'ham*, our Yarnos have the habit of spitting all day long and whenever they wake up at night. Anyone who joins their circle around the fire for the first time is confused by the unintermitted wheezing, throat clearing, and spitting in which they take part. Adults do this quite unconsciously, and so one thinks. When they spit, they have an amazing aim: even a person stretched out on his bed expels water straight into the fire in a wide arc without lifting himself up. An older person is more awkward at this and hesitates his neighbor who, however, do not grow impatient but clean themselves off indifferently, without a feeling of disgust. They repeat the liquid culture with a hissing noise through their nostrils which they pass lightly again.

These Indians, quite quiet and without any idea of embarrassment, do the things we are taught to politely cover up. With their thick fingers and dirty fingernails, and gnawing, they pick around for a long time in their crowded mouths. Afterwards they clean their fingernails between their teeth. They blow their noses by snorting hard, which sends the mucus to the ground. Often it sticks out by itself, and they wipe it off with their index finger. Children see the fire of their hand and move it up

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/141 cont./

observes them and unconsciously compares them with the women of our coast going fishing at low tide: the same grave silence, the same busyness, and from a distance the same silhouettes" /translated from French/.

At almost every ebb tide the women comb the wide surfaces laid bare by the receding sea. On a slightly sloping shore these are sometimes ten or more women (187). Here there are only

187. Fortunately, the strip of earth along the shore which is laid bare at low tide is easily porous and soon becomes hard. (Hyades (p. 188) specially refers to this.

medium-sized and small mussels, but they are easy to gather. They are sometimes loosened with a short, strong stick or with the above-mentioned mussel-breaker, quénix. It is just as easy to break them off with one's bare hand, since the clinging filaments of the live animals are weak.

226 Assuming that low tide was in during the day, one woman
 94] will make a fire with another, and immediately others will join
 • 95] them. Each of them brings along her baby clinging to her back,
 15] and little girls run about, each with her own little basket. Sometimes a boy or two will run along out of curiosity and their pleasure, and they will watch for a while, but it would never occur to them to help because that is not their work. These women are only
 16] apart /142/ distant apart. Walking slowly, they go from one spot to another, for the entire mussel floor is usually densely strewn with mussels. They seldom exchange a few words, and they keep only their position unchanged. Sometimes they also squat down, without reaching the deep earth, since the mussels can be easily grasped from any position. They stop working only when their tides baskets are full. The women sometimes also set out late in the evening and in the early morning if the tide is particularly low. In winter they take along a glowing stick of wood and a few dry sticks in order to lay up a fire near the place where they are gathering. They remain so for a few minutes to warm their stuff

/892 cont. /

861 rearing in an unexpectedly favorable light and which reveal our much misunderstood Yamana as sensitive experts in all matters pertaining to a child. An opportunity to appreciate their mastery of child-rearing skills is provided by clear insight concerning the youth initiation ceremony which I was twice /694/ privileged to experience and which I shall describe in detail below. In the principles for the treatment of the maturing generation, a good deal of unadulterated practical philosophy and sound child-rearing wisdom from the remote past has been preserved to this day among the much misunderstood primitive people of frosty Tierra del Fuego.

a. The Infant and Its Care

124 The sensitivity of the people and delicate consideration for the mother impel them to conceal as far as possible from the eyes of the men a new citizen's entrance into the world and his care during the first few days of his life. Hence the following details were not personally observed, but were given to me by women. I gladly admit that greater completeness would have been possible, but probably nothing important is missing in the following lines, except perhaps one or another minor detail that they did not wish to mention to me because of a natural feeling of delicacy. In any case, nothing has changed in modern times in the treatment of infants. Only the pieces of fur formerly used as covers are now replaced by European rags which have very much increased the lack of cleanliness in the child's sleeping place.

• 254 A European would superficially describe many of their customs as unhygienic and sensual, but on closer observation he might recognize a great deal of purposefulness and empirical wisdom. Travelers of former times saw the tender, solicitous care of Fuegian children by adults so clearly and in such vivid detail that they did not hide their astonishment. Their observations correspond exactly with what everyone can still find today. Therefore, no one should be surprised if all the details in the following account seem brightly and kindly illuminated by the warm glow of genuine parental love for the always welcome child.

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friend who acts as a sort of godmother, fulfilling this function very well" /translated from French/. Hyades (q:375) expresses himself more explicitly, saying that certain women "will later also be called 'mother' by the small children whom she helped bring into the world" /translated from French/.

let the same woman adopt several children of one mother.

68

The relationship between the two /714/ is never dissolved throughout their lifetimes. When the child is married, the foster mother continues to champion and help him. If the child has lost his parents, the foster mother lives nearby or even in the same hut. Not infrequently the adairufwayipa assumes the sponsorship in the Efayipa for her foster child which will more closely link the two together.

4. Treatment of the Infant

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Neighbors tell each other about the birth of a child as a joyous event. Some women hasten to the place out of curiosity and discuss the process in great detail with the mother; they like to give advice and are willing to perform any service. Above all, the parents themselves owe each other in demonstrations of love for their child. All observers agree with Bridges (p.100) that "children are the object of tender concern" /translated from Spanish/. The father also loves to play with his little darling, and although he does not know how to be nearly as tender as his wife, he is not out-paced by her when it comes to sincerity and personal happiness. Anxious about the welfare of the child, the father sometimes gives her advice about care and nourishment, occasionally both parents discuss the present condition of their child and its future. They circumspectly avoid everything that might harm it, and they guard it religiously day and night. In general, the husband does not criticize the way his wife handles the baby, for he can rely on her; after all, she is well advised by neighbor women, and he follows.

[The cont.]

- 154 her suggestions if it is required for the child's welfare. His wife becomes even dearer to him because of her efforts and care for the child, and from one confinement to the next he appreciates her more. This increases the regard for her among the whole family.

254
24/ Once more we should like to emphasize that children are the joy of their parents' life. This is what Hyden (p. 111) means when he says: "Parents love their children very much" [translated from French/]. His assertion, "They caress them very rarely, particularly never" [translated from French/], is, however, false. True, in another place Hyden (p. 111) is right when he says, "they do not know how to kiss" [translated from French/], but parents frequently do press their mouths or their entire faces against the head and face of the infant, pick it up with both hands under its shoulders and lift it high, pass their fingers playfully over its entire body when it lies on its back, and finally provide it with all kinds of happy visual impressions by means of pantomime. They also give their darling a real kiss, lyally, on the /111/ cheeks, which has been customary since ancient times between parents and their newborn child -- not, however, between adults. By and large, they dandle and play with their small child exactly the way European parents do. With them, however, all this goes on unobtrusively, and they are less temperamental in their caresses. For the sake of the baby, the parents carefully observe all the restrictions imposed on them before and after confinement (143). The death of a child is viewed as an unpleasant-

145. Bridge (p. 111) reports: "Should a nursing child fall sick, its sickness is sure to be attributed to something the mother has eaten, what, under these circumstances, does not eat whole mother" [quoted in English/].

side line.

76
54 If a mother dies soon after her delivery, another woman will be most willing to take charge of the orphaned baby immediately. Almost always this is done by one of the closest relatives, usually an aunt. The father actually does not have to bother about finding a nurse himself. Farly out of sympathy for the orphan, many women vie for it. No matter who takes it, it is just as safe and well

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presented in her hands as in those of its mother (142).

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141. Loewen (8) 138 simply repeats what Bridges (x) 181 observed long before: "If the mother dies, the little one soon finds a foster-mother, by whom considerable affection is shown" */read in English/*.

142. Occasionally it has been maintained that the children are intrinsically small at birth, and Bridges (1) 33 writes: "The children are decidedly small at birth and to this fact may be chiefly ascribed the mother's immaturity from danger" */read in English/*. Snow (x) 138 repeats this. Nothing justifies this assumption, and it is a fact that Bridges was by no means in a position to prove it. The color of the skin of the newborn child is considerably lighter than that of adults and later becomes somewhat darker. Fitz-Roy (x) 178 says about the Tamaras and Holarship in general: "Little children are nearly all the same hue as their parents' skin is when changed, but infants are, for a few days, rather lighter colored" */read in English/*. The slight difference in the skin color of newborn children are temporary.

143. There is a story dealing with the external appearance of the little one, which old Comma, father of Chis, sometimes told young women: "A long time ago a woman became pregnant. She was delivered extraordinarily quickly, and the child left the mother's womb without the slightest hindrance. Immediately it stretched its limbs, stood up by itself, and walked around a bit. As it was strong and sturdy enough to do this. Immediately after that it lay down back into mother's womb. Then the belly of that woman grew big. But soon the child again left its mother's womb, stood up, and walked about freely for a little while. Then it lay down back in again. Immediately the mother lay down and grew big. She did not know what was happening to her. Then the child came out again and once more stretched, she gave over */The com. /* woman. Meanwhile the child had grown and become larger, so she, too, walked comfortably. Finally she died in the arms that lay on her sleeping place near the fire. At once she stretched her colleagues, as though she had never dreamed of death and tears. --

1718-1800

173 I expect see the mother (142), so I give you the advice. 181

142. This expression is, of course, not to be taken literally. It means, in the Yuma way of speaking, that this man had a very lively image of the child character in the story.

When a child comes out of the mother's womb very quickly of immaturity begins to walk, you must hold it without delay. Otherwise it will bury back into its mother's belly which will end to catch a cold that the mother will die.*

159 Frequent abstinences are considered absolutely necessary if the
 158 when, sometimes a day or two more is tolerated for them. Soon after birth they are performed with leaves, many times when the mother usually has finished by some other person. The girl, the belly upright in front of her, lifts her mouth open and again with the same, wearing it a little, and gradually wraps the leaf on the body. The greatly draw off her limbs during with a soft, curly coat or with a ball of moss, both of which are often cut off, bag and exposed to remove the large amount of water they contain. The purpose of this treatment with the bundle of moss is to dry the skin, but to maintain it with rubbing. After the first or weeks the use of bag water is no longer necessary, as water will suffice from now on.

We must appreciate the fact that our Indian women, or apparently do not have an eye for the physical conditions of their large children, who is much more concerned with their health. But they repeat the abstinence at least once a day. They always cover the wound in the mouth and again it is on the belly of the little one. With the palm of the hand they greatly rub the exposed parts, and this is probably regarded as a beneficial massage. In all cases it is necessary the mother will hold her open hand over the face or cover it, and the appearance the rub and her hand becomes cool. If the children did both in the days when the skin was left to cure a fire for three or four minutes, the treatment was for hand rubbed for, wearing the inside of her hand underneath (20). Even

145. Despite (21) observed the same procedure.

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when the child is dipped into the water all at once, she never forgets to rub it off with her hand flat (144).

144. A few Europeans at least mention the fact that the newborn baby is repeatedly dipped in the water. First of all Bridges (p. 21: "Within a few days after birth the child was dipped in the sea, with the idea of strengthening it" /cited in English/. Not only Lecomte (p. 110, but also Hahn (p. 806 evidently rely on him, for the latter writes: "Soon after birth, the child is dipped in sea water or in fresh water. This washing by immersion is repeated up to twice a day for one or two months" /translated from French/.

Summer and winter the child must submit to the ablutions, often even not in the open. Afterward it is always safely /717/ wrapped in a soft skin in which it is warmed for at least half an hour. For about ten weeks the young mother carries out the ablutions very conscientiously, after that she allows some interruptions, and finally the six-month-old child is only rarely rubbed off.

The Yamao mother makes a sleeping place for her infant in almost exactly the same way her neighbor on his Grand dune (Vol. 1, 272). If she cannot hold the baby in her arms, she spreads a soft cover or gossamer pelt on the ground with the leather side on top. Over this she spreads a layer of down from wild geese and lays the child on its back. She lifts up the edges of the piece of leather and folds them over each other, so that the bundle is loose; there is no crapping of any kind. The infant stays this way hardly more than an hour, for with its movements it gradually loosens the down and is again exposed. Meanwhile it has become thoroughly warm, for it is almost always only after it has been washed that it is bundled up. Usually it sits quite naked on beach or on a piece of leather. The infant is not given clothes or diapers.

If the mother's hands are not busy with other work, she naturally has her darling on her lap. She squats on the ground with her legs bent, and he sits or lies between them. She usually

/717 cont./

• 151 supports the baby's head with her cupped hand. She even has him lying in front of her like this when she pushes her canoe. Usually the baby sits with his back leaning close against her, and she lightly presses her folded hands against his stomach.

The reasons why our Indian women always carry a child on their backs are obvious. They want to have their hands and arms free for their work. They carry their infants about with them wherever they go because they do not want to be separated from them and sometimes there is no other person to care for them. Actually, it is a rare sight to meet a young or middle-aged woman without a child on her back. If she has put it down for a few minutes, it is crawling about on the ground near her. With astonishing dexterity she makes all kinds of maneuvers, bends low in gathering mussels and berries, stretches up when she breaks off dry branches, crouches humbly when she pulls the canoe up on the beach, winds her way laboriously through brush, and even climbs over tree trunks lying in the tangled thicket of the forest. While all this is going on, the child sits securely on her back.

Every woman with a baby sometimes uses a wide back-cape or a piece of leather which she can put over the entire upper part of her body. With her right and left hands she grasps the little left and right hands of the child, and holding both arms parallel, she draws her right arm over her head and settles the child on her back. Either the two hold hands or the child places his little arms around the neck of the mother. Then she draws the back-cape over the child or wraps him in her own fur cloak, /718/ to which, however, he has just as little support as under the back-cape (141).

141. This is to be emphasized in contrast to Fols-Roy (p.138), who erroneously maintains: "The upper part of the wrapper, above a string which is tied around the waist, serves to carry an infant" (quoted in English).

He hangs by his own little arms and sits straddling the back of the mother (140). Occasionally the mother uses a square piece of

140. Despard (p.400) writes clearly on this subject: "Mothers carry their children

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dangling on their backs, and only supported by holding them by their wrists in front of them? /Cited in English/.

leather, the sides of which are about 40 centimeters long, with short straps fastened to the four corners. After she has lifted the child onto her back, she places this piece over it and ties the straps in front of her chest. When she straightens up, the child sits securely and lets his legs dangle down on either side of her, encircling her neck with his little arms.

The child must, of course, submit to all the effects of the weather (147), although in heavy rain and strong wind the mother

147. Hyades (p.172) expresses his astonishment thus: "The Fargian babies are never clothed. Thus they leave the inclemencies of the weather, uniquely protected by contact with the mother's warmth" /translated from French/.

remains in the hut as much as possible. Thus, the children, from the first days of their lives, become accustomed to the rigors and overtimes of their homeland. Nevertheless, it is striking that children under a year old rarely die (148). Perhaps the babies' freedom

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148. Bridges (x).181 confirms: "It is a general custom with these people to leave their children out of doors, be the weather fine or inclement, even though it is snowing or raining, in winter and summer" /Cited in English/. Compare LeVine (p).144.

of movement is advantageous. As we have said, they are permitted to crawl about on the ground for many hours, completely naked and quite unimpeded, or they may lie on their backs kicking merrily as long as they like. On the canoe trip, however, they must forgo this. Any kind of baby carriage is unknown to the Yamato; it would be useless, since during the day the children spend a great deal of time in the fragile vessel.

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Just as on Isla Grande (Vol. I, 270), the babies of the entire

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167
165 Cape Horn Archipelago acknowledge the loving and sensible treatment given them by almost never crying. This strange fact was observed by various travelers. Spengemann (s).187, for example, reports: "I noted that the children there never cry; they are always happy and contented, whether it is cold or hot, with their completely Adamic clothing" /translated from Spanish/ (148).

148. Hyacin (p).183 says of his observations of a new living creature on its first day: "The baby rarely cried and not for long"; the mother "calmed her baby when it cried with little pats on the back" /translated from French/.

The Fuegian little ones really have no reason for making the whole neighborhood aware of their discontent or displeasure by howling and crying, for they come into the world healthy and are not hindered in their movements in the fresh air; they are also abundantly nourished and given all kinds of attention. /713/ Other factors, however, may play a part here; I am thinking primarily of an effective, unconscious influence of the environment. One should visualize how deathly quiet the whole family is in the canoe while they stalk game and move in its direction. All the persons in the boat are breathlessly attentive until they have reached their booty. Even the low cry of an infant would spell their success. How the motherliness of the adults is able to hold the child in check is not easy to explain, but it cannot be denied. A baby that is ill or not sufficiently fed, however, makes itself known loudly enough. Finally we must remember that the Yamanas in general are a taciturn and quiet lot.

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242 Every Fuegian mother regards nursing as a duty to be taken for granted. What old Luisa impressed upon me in 1900 was later repeatedly confirmed. All the women emphasize that shortly before and long after confinement they must eat chiefly *Mytilus* mussels; otherwise their milk would be worthless, it would be less nourishing, and their babies would cry all night long. On the Cape Horn Archipelago it is unknown for a mother not to have enough milk, and Hahn (s).808 assures us that "all mothers are abundantly provided with milk" /translated from French/. The child announces 163 when he is hungry by restless movements of his head and his whole

[722] cont./

856 properly, to become well-proportioned, and to develop a beautiful figure.

856 That this treatment of the infant is not without a tinge of
719 magic may be seen from the way it is concluded. As soon as a woman ceases the prolonged stroking, she clenches her hands and puts her fists to her mouth so that the bent thumbs touch her lips. With a sharp thrust she extends her arms out in front of her and opens her fists, palms forward and fingers outstretched. At the same time she expels her breath in a sharp "é," as though the "un-beautiful, ugly, [722] deformed" had been gathered together with the hands and were now being blown away. One sees this motion being practiced a great deal by the yfhamal.

856 In this wir process every woman is, of course, extremely
gentle and sensitive; she is careful not to press on the fontanel, ayataia, which she knows to be a very sensitive spot. For about three weeks the new infant must submit to this forming, stroking, and arranging of his little body. It causes him not the slightest discomfort.

856 The following belongs in the category of superstition. When
the sea duck, déka (Tachyeres patagonicus), flies over the hut,
854 all the occupants are startled, for they are afraid that it will take
714 away the "spirit," that is, the vitality of the children. The adults hasten to cover all the children with pieces of leather and, with outstretched arms, they gape through the air, as though they were trying to hold back "the spirit" of the children. As though they had gathered it up in the air, they draw their arms in again and make a peffering and throwing motion toward the children, at the same time uttering a long-drawn-out "i." It is well known that immediately after birth the parents may not eat the meat of déka, otherwise the life of the child is endangered (p. 503).

854 Most of the day the babies move freely or lie in the mother's lap. With their little hands they touch and grasp everything they can reach. They are given individual small stones and sticks, mussel shells, and little twigs that happen to lie nearby, but the Yamana do not make actual toys. Perhaps it is too much trouble for them always to take along and carefully store toys, no matter how simple. It seems to me that Yamana babies, compared to those on Isla Grande, are much quieter and much less inclined to play. True, the mother puts all kinds of small necklaces around her darling, in order to adorn

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• 574 him, and she also paints him just for fun. All this, however, has nothing to do with playthings. She dandles him and plays with him, devotes all her free time to him, and protects him carefully at night when he is lying beside her. She also addresses him and converses with him, but far less and more softly than a European mother does. There are no actual cradle songs, but a woman who loves to sing sometimes begins a simple folksong, pasina.

[533] With the definite love for children characteristic of our Yamana it is not surprising that every neighbor woman inquires explicitly about all the little ones in her vicinity. She gladly lends a hand wherever her services are desired or needed. Hence every young mother as long as she is taking care of an infant has several women helpers who are gladly at her disposal. She can count on them if she or her darling is sick, if she is temporarily incapable of working, or if her time is completely taken up by a special activity, for example, in the čičayau. It is very seldom that /724/ a mother will let a neighbor take her baby outside the hut, for she would almost expire with longing. Among themselves, the women discuss in detail how they can best serve the growth and well-being of their children. A woman is happy to take the child out of its mother's arms to fondle and pet it. She leads it up and down with both hands and tries to entertain it with all kinds of innocent surprises. She also rocks it gently in her arms, rhythmically repeating the words "hui, hui ..." in a monotone.

The Fuegian women are good mothers who gladly make sacrifices for their children. They far outdo many European women in sincere love (157) and reliable care for their babies. I am

157. Bridges (1):21 confirms this: "Mothers of young children tend them most carefully, and give themselves up to their maternal duties much more entirely than is the case with most civilized people." Even someone like Spegazzini (a):166 gives them the following honorable recommendation: "Maternal love is, deeply rooted, and although... there are no manifestations of love, neither kisses nor caresses, nevertheless it is very apparent from

[724 cont.]

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the concern and pleasure of the fathers and mothers in adorning and taking good care of their little ones" /translated from Spanish/. Actually the parents often kiss and caress the baby with pleasure (p. 314).

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constantly reminded of the unusual, almost uncontrolled pleasure of several Indian women who occasionally came to Punta Remolino. The Lawrence family there had a Spaniard as a cook, whose young wife one day had her first child. She handled it so awkwardly and clumsily that the Indian women refrained from laughing heartily only because they pitied the child, but among themselves they quite frankly discussed how much better they could handle a newborn baby. Nelly used this as an example to emphasize that in such important matters her country-women had incomparably more thorough experience and "the Whites could learn a great deal from Yamana women about how to treat a baby!"

5. Infanticide

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In view of what has been reliably reported about the love for children among the Yamana, it is apparent that there is no place among these people for intentional and frequent infanticide. Not a single European can prove it by having been an eye-witness to this act, and Hyades (p):331 denies any intentional infanticide with the following brief sentence: "Infanticide is not customary" /translated from French/. It is only Bridges who made statements on this subject, and a few travelers (158), such as Dabene (a):63 and

158. Cooper:171 mentions the various citations.

(b):190, repeated his words. As early as 1866 he maintained: "It is very seldom a young infant is killed unless under the following circumstances: Should the mother's husband have deserted her, the child is then often killed by its mother. Also those children that have any great imperfections, or are otherwise much deformed, are sure to be killed very shortly after their birth. Also should a

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- 157 is no longer regarded as necessary. Outwardly this becomes evident in that the baby is kept less clean. The little creature is given complete freedom to roll about on the ground and in the lot, to dig in the soil and the grass, to touch everything and put it in its mouth. If the rain and the circumstances, purely mechanical rubbing on gravel and grass did not remove a considerable part of the accumulated dirt, things would be pretty bad for the little ones! Some mothers, it is true, wash and clean them often. Walter's little daughter was always neat as a doll and was carefully tended. Other women apparently did not even see the thick layer of dirt on their children. As long as it is absolutely necessary, 153 the mother prepares the bit of food for her darling every day and sees to it that he can only easily digested food, but she won't let 152 him make his own choice without giving him much instruction. Instinctively he chooses food that best agrees with him. Occasionally, however, he puts in suitable pieces into his mouth and must pay for it with slight digestive upset.

- 154 The unobstructed freedom of movement that is permitted babies on /T24/ land has been fairly earned by their motherlessness during the long and constant canoe trips. It may seem incredible, but 155 it is true that, except for slight, brief movements, they may for hours just as their mother has set them down, without kicking or rolling over. The mother has just as little trouble with the child who rides on her back while she wanders about and attends to her work, or whom she holds in her arms or has lying on her lap. The child does not think of wriggling out of position, fidgeting, and crying, as one often sees European children doing. He lies there all by himself, quietly happy, entertaining himself with whatever his little eyes take in or his little fingers touch. He would never dream of yelling loudly if the mother walks off or to cry anxiously if he is left alone. Under certain circumstances Fœgian babies behave as though they had mature judgment or were constantly exercising much patience. Without doubt the adult environment influences the little ones, for loud shouting and vehement speech are much less customary among our Fœgians than among their neighbors to the northwest and northeast. I do not claim however, to have given an exhaustive explanation for this phenomenon.

- 156 The extraordinarily quiet and gentle behavior of the child has an overwhelming effect on its speech development. For months he

[1338 cont.]

up of a single word or even a single syllable, repeated indefinitely" (transcribed from French). In Spencer: 111 it is said: "The words, they say [to their songs], have no meaning to them, and have been handed down to posterity from their ancestors, and all their songs originally came from the *Alahaila* tribe" (transcribed in English).

How else would the considerable variety of their songs have come about. One may find it strange that, without exception, they are sung by a smaller or larger group. A person going his solitary way or quietly gliding over the water in the canoe with his family would never feel the urge to sing a little song. A mother does not sing any kind of cradle song to her darling when she cradles in her arms or watches over in his bed. She is content to hold the child in her outstretched arms and gently rock it back and forth. She performs these movements rhythmically, and each time she sweeps back and forth she repeats the words *hōi hōi*. The rhythms of a few of the social games are accompanied by children and adults with simple melodies set to long words (p. 135).

The songs in the *Yakusa*, which fall into two groups, are unique. An uninterrupted repetition of a few words on the same pitch, carried on at right intervals by only one person and during the day simultaneously by most of the people, is part of the daily program (p. 74). More elaborate melodies accompany the special dances and social games on most evenings (p. 812). In songs of mourning, especially in the *Yamashiro*, the same word, consisting of three to six syllables, is repeated on the same pitch: the melody is constantly interrupted by interjections and loud laments (p. 1070).

I would broadly characterize the *Yakusa* as a mood-song. It concludes a mourning assembly, a festive gathering, or a *Yakusa* (p. 84). The brown meadow bird, *Yakusa*, invented this song and first sang it when, as a capable *Yakusa*, it once stranded a whale and invited everybody to an abundant feast. A person who now introduces this song wants to please his countrymen with a surprise and create a happy mood, after the example set by that bird.